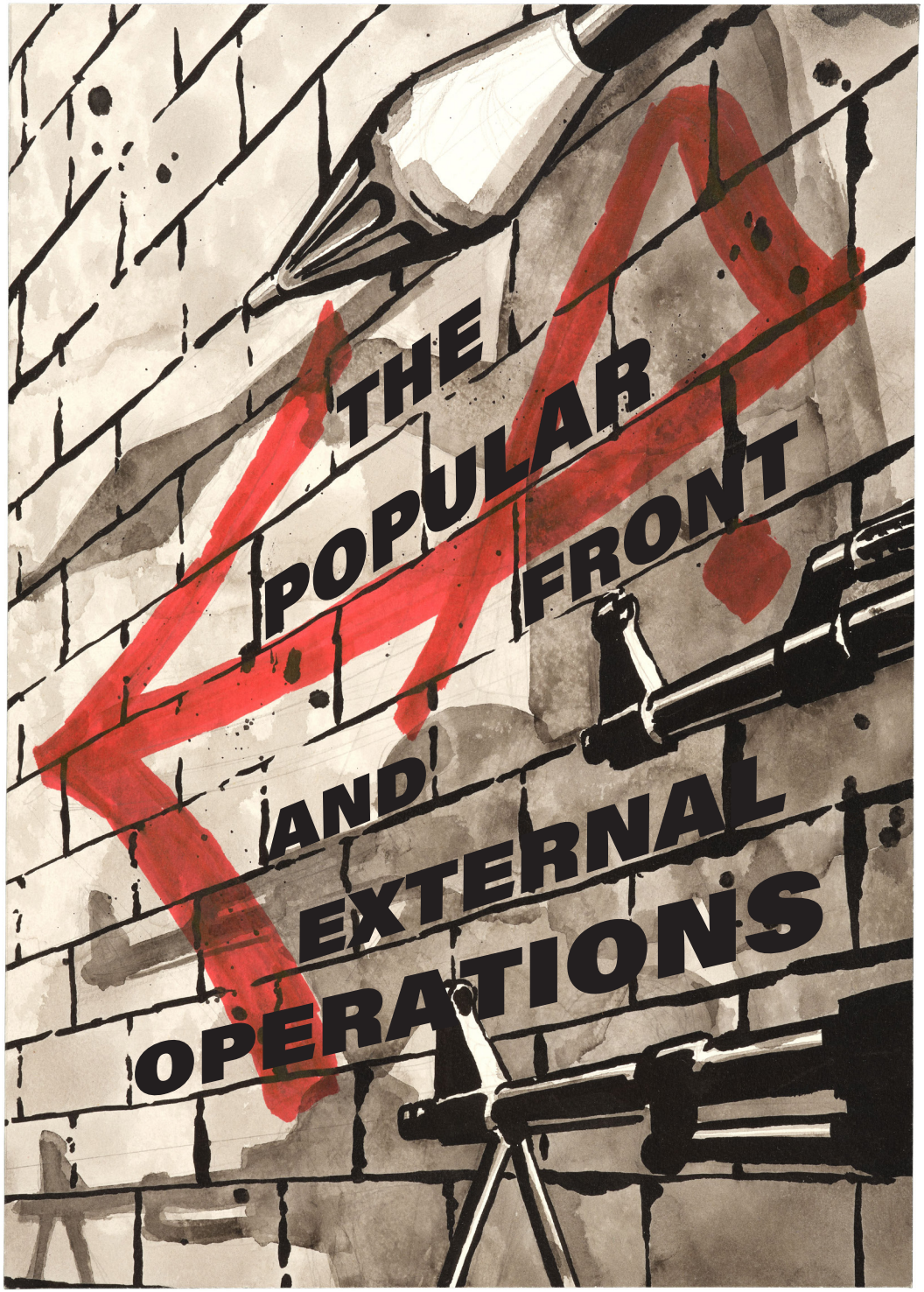
خلف العدو في كل مكان

There was a war taken up first by 'israel,' zionism, world imperialism and reaction, and second and in response by the people of Palestine, the Arab nation, and the progressives of the world. Just as the aggression against the people of Palestine does not stem from a specific geographic location but comes from multiple global sites, the confrontation carried out by the Palestinian people does not need to be limited to a specific geographic area. These are the parties to the conflict and that is the logic of the revolutionary confrontation.

خلف العدو في كل مكان



determined that it was carrying a number of jewish immigrants illegally, but the ship suddenly exploded in Haifa port before returning to Cyprus, killing over 250 jewish men, women, and children, who drowned on board. Weisman says in his book, *Trial and Error*, page 371: "The Commission of Inquiry into the incident formed by the British courts have proven that the ship sank due to explosive charges placed in the ship by a 'jewish terrorist group!'"

In February 1942, the ship Struma, carrying 769 jewish immigrants to Palestine illegally, sailed across the Black Sea and was hit by a mysterious explosion. The investigation was unable to reveal who committed this crime, but the author, Christopher Sacks, in his book, *Survey of Palestine* (p. 24), commented on the incident, saying, "The Jewish Agency was determined not to compromise one inch on the basic principle: the flow of migrants should continue to Palestine alone and should not turn to any other place [...] it is better to die by design than to weaken the zionist cause"!

In the *New York Times Magazine* of February 8, 1970, a lengthy article by Paul Jacobs discussed another kind of 'israeli' operation, and said the following:

After the Swiss police once arrested Joseph Bengal, one of the officials of the 'israeli' Ministry of Education, on charges of threatening the life of a German scientist working in missile development in Egypt, it kicked off exciting news stories in european newspapers covering the activity of 'israeli' intelligence: How they sent a parcel bomb to German scientists and injured their assistants, and the kidnapping of another German by the 'israelis' who were detained illegally in Vienna... and how the private jet carrying people associated with Egyptian military programs exploded mysteriously in mid-air, and all of the passengers died in the explosion!

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Cover by Marc Rudin "جهاد منصور"

[...]. The Palestinians today are in the mood for sacrificing their lives if by wrecking the pillar they can bring the roof down on their 'israeli' enemies' heads; and if the crashing masonry were incidentally to stave in the skulls of the rest of the human race, why should the Palestinian Arabs care? What have the rest of us done to deserve consideration from them? ... This is a threat that drives the world, finally, after such a long period, to give serious consideration to the injustices suffered by the Palestinian Arab people.

Arnold Toynbee, *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, March 30, 1969

[A]nd when this party or that conduct terrorism individually against colonial tools that oppress and surveil the people, therefore, they do not commit a 'fascist' sin (and this charge does not evidence understanding of the meaning of fascism and its circumstances and class roots in Western societies), but has taken an action against imperialism... It shows the beginning of consciousness, but in all cases, such descriptions are far away from class consciousness and are infected with revolutionary 'itching,' and only present when those do not see reality correctly. Those who call it 'fascism' do not understand Lenin at all, that is if they read him at all, and if they did, they would know Lenin's position on the issue of 'forms of struggle' in general, and the issue of terrorism, including individual, and he did not reject any forms as an absolute prerequisite.

Yasin Al-Hafez, *Al-Hadaf,* April 18, 1970

To those who have permitted themselves to fall into the 'israeli' trap deliberately set, and to use the mysterious crash of the civilian Swiss plane to undermine the principle of "external operations," recall some observations that remain in recent memory of the world:

In November 1940, the British Mandate authority in Palestine decided to return the ship Patria to Cyprus, after it was

The Popular Front and External Operations

by the

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

الجبهة الشعبية لتحرير فلسطين

This is the second in the series of books issued by *Al-Hadaf*. The first book, which was released in early April, delineates the Popular Front's military thought.

This volume deals with an important topic, the External Operations adopted by the Popular Front as part of its strategy to confront and pursue the enemy everywhere. This activity has triggered controversy among those interested in the affairs of the Palestinian resistance. It also extends beyond the framework of the "External Operations," discussing operations that target imperialist interests in the Arab world.

This book addresses these topics from different angles and constitutes a totality of our point of view and a coherent background to the decision by the Popular Front in this regard, its commitment to it, and its intention to proceed with the implementation.

Introduction

From July 23, 1968, the day of the first military operation of the Popular Front against the targets of the 'israeli' enemy outside the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories; to taking control of the El Al Boeing 707 plane from the Rome airport and its diversion to Algiers; to the attacks on El Al planes in airports in Athens and Zurich; to the explosive operations at Marks and Spencer[1] and zionist businesses and the placing of an explosive device in the office of ZIM 'israeli' shipping in London; to the seizure of the amerikan TWA plane and forcing it to land in Damascus; and the bombing of 'israeli' embassies in Bonn and the Hague; and the attack on the El Al office in Brussels, these operations raised and continue to raise many questions and generate mixed reactions from many people.

These operations filled the headlines of the news in the local, Arab and international press, and following each operation, the assessment varied from full support to conservative support, to understanding the motives of these operations but fearing their results. To answer these questions, we must first determine the nature of the enemy that we face and its composition. First and foremost, it is necessary to define the enemy that we are fighting; it is through knowledge of the enemy that we can strike blows at its positions in any location, regardless of where this site is located geographically.

It is natural in a war of liberation to hit areas of vital strategic importance to the enemy, and it is important to hit the areas that created the enemy in this location and that serve as an inexhaustible resource that provides it with all it needs in order to remain and grow.

1 **Ed. Note:** This refers to a PFLP bombing operation which targeted British retailer Marks and Spencer in London, on July 8, 1969.

Notes

In its January 9, 1969 issue, the French publication *Le Monde* ran an article by 'israeli' Moshe Machover (university professor and one of the key elements of leadership in the 'israeli' Matzpen organization). The following excerpt from this article:

> The attack by members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine on December 26, 1968, on an 'israeli' El Al plane at Athens airport is a blow to 'israel,' not only because it highlighted the fragility of the international transportation lines, but also because it demonstrated to the world the Palestinian resistance, equipped with boldness and bravery [...]. The men who carried out the attack knew exactly what was waiting for them: a prison term or possibly the death penalty, with either the final arbiter. Whether justified practically and morally, the public opinion inside and outside of 'israel' can only be influenced by the amount of persistence and sacrifice of the Palestinian resistance.
>
> Is it not right for the 'Viet Cong' to strike the strongholds of amerikan aggression; they direct their strikes to the u.s. Seventh Fleet, but could to San Francisco and New York also [...].
>
> Bertrand Russell, *Al-Hadaf*, November 15, 1970
>
> [...] On the Palestinian issue in particular, the blood of any innocent victims of Palestinian Arab guerrillas lies not with the fedayeen fighters, but is also the responsibility of the institutions of the world, because, without the acquiescence and subordination of the various parts of the entire world, this situation was able to prevail [...]. When a victim of persecution has nothing to lose but their lives, they can take the lives of enemies en masse and at an acceptable price [...]. The Palestinian Arabs have an understandable grievance against the 'israelis,' but they also have a grievance against all the rest of us

its plans in the ranks of the revolutionaries, and attempt to create a contradiction with these new allied local powers. Tactical skill and judgment will be essential in this area. The goal of each remains the axis of their movement. The goal of the enemy is to secure its interests that we threaten to strike. The goal for us is our existence, which is threatened by the main tool of imperialism, 'israel,' and its secondary tools. A comparison between these goals—interests and existence—is to our advantage, because the fight to win profits and defend interests is less ferocious than a fight to defend one's existence.

These are the prospects for the future ahead of us. This is the logic that governs our behavior and illuminates our path when we strike the interests of the u.s. imperialists. The tactic serves a specific strategy. It is not an automatic response to an electric shock! It is a rational logic, not taken up for whims or emotions. It is the logic of cutting the head of the snake and not its tail, especially since the existing contradiction is with the head, and the tail will only move in the service of the head.

Who Are Our Enemies?

It is essential for any successful revolution to be armed with a clear revolutionary vision, assessing its priorities, determining its dimensions and knowing the full scope of the truth. The nature of the enemy determines the nature of the confrontation; thus this requires a profound scientific outlook on the enemy camp and its properties.

The enemy camp is not only 'israel': it is 'israel,' and the zionist movement, and global imperialism, and Arab reaction.

'israel,' in fact, is only the concrete presence of zionism and the fruit of its efforts, and it is based on the strength and enjoys the benefits of its presence in different parts of the world and its financial, political and media influence, all of which are exploited in support of 'israel.' The energies of zionism in all fields are directed toward providing 'israel' with all it needs.

The world zionist movement has overlapping relationships and interests intertwined with world imperialism, and the latter benefits from the zionist entity, 'israel,' sitting in the heart of the Arab world, playing, by virtue of these mutual relations, the useful role of the gendarmerie of the interests of imperialism in the Arab world.

Global imperialist support and protection for 'israel' and maintaining its presence is essential for the major interests of global imperialism in the Arab world for exploitation and plunder of wealth. These interests require that it maintains this presence of 'israel,' through which it can fight any revolutionary movement that could threaten the fate of its monopolistic presence in the region. This means that there is an organic cohesion between 'israel' and the zionist movement on the one hand and between both of them and world imperialism on the other hand. Imperialism means more guns and money and support for 'israel,' it means "Phantom" aircraft and

the secrets of the atomic bomb for 'israel,' and supporting 'israel's' economy as a result of the flow of billions of dollars to 'israel.'

On the other hand, Arab reaction, confronted by any real liberation struggle waged by the masses to eliminate the influence of imperialism in the Arab world, recognizes that its interests depend on the continued survival of imperialism. Regardless of the contradictions of the Arab reactionaries with 'israel' and imperialism, they are always aware that the essential contradiction is with the mass movement aimed at the total elimination of their interests and authority.

Joint Efforts of International Zionism and Imperialism for the Establishment of 'Israel'

Here we address the role of the World Zionist Organization, which collaborated with the colonialists and global imperialists to implant 'israel' in Palestine and to provide all assistance and support for its survival, for it to play the role of custodian of the interests of imperialism in the exploitation of the wealth of the Arab region, in particular the Arab oil lifeline, and the reinvestment of capital accumulated from huge profits earned from such exploitation. This was done not by creating industries and productive projects, but by making the region a consumer market for their products and goods to achieve the accumulation of new capital through dividends and re-investment.

To delve into details may divert us from the heart of the matter we are dealing with; we must begin with some facts that are basic axioms of the Palestinian cause:

1. The British government, through its mandate over Palestine

knows that their tactic has been exposed and that their sectarian or regional weapons are chained, and it will be forced to think twice before using its local pawns. This in fact reduces the likelihood of a side battle rather than increasing it, and it serves the interest of the revolution to do so.

In addition to all of this, we are involved in the mobilization of the masses and creating a revolutionary climate. The knowledge of the masses of the nature of the enemy and its dimensions, methods, and schemes is essential. Our knowledge remains useless if we do not translate this vanguard knowledge into practice. What is the benefit for us to know the enemy, despite its importance, if the masses do not see the interests of imperialism, as they silently drain our blood? What is the role of the revolutionary vanguard, if not to embody the ideas and ideals they uphold?

The Bible says: "In the beginning was the word." Faust disputes that by saying: "No! In the beginning was the deed." The strikes of the Popular Front against imperialist interests on the land of the whole Arab nation only translate our knowledge into action.

But do things stand at this point? Will u.s. imperialism fall as soon as some of its interests are at stake? Will it stop pulling the strings after the first shock, regardless of its violence? Is it not possible to use new strings if the first is cut? No, the conflict by its nature inevitably continues, and if the enemy side refrains from the use of open fighting (for lack of utility), it requires it to find another means of engagement, and we see the dialectical relationship between the will of the opponent and the will of the revolution, until victory. To understand the prospects for the future and its possibilities, we must know that the dialectical relationship of wills is governed by two factors: the balance of power and the determination of both. Here, we can imagine how the enemy will look for new alliances and new local powers to attempt to break up our forces in order to turn the balance of power in its favor. And how we will work hard to thwart

remains our first goal to confront the enemy without it being able to use new tools to hide its identity or drag us into secondary side battles.

The imperialist head is ready to struggle against us and block our revolutionary path as long as the conflict does not cost him anything, as long as he can pay for sectarian poisons, or regional or personal interests to stand guard for him, especially if the revolution is afflicted with a strategic blindness that makes it unable to differentiate between the force that leads to paralysis of the enemy and that which does not, but leads us to underestimate the power of the enemy and its effectiveness.

The head of imperialism wants the revolution to fight in many small battles in order so that it cannot see clearly. The reason for the ability of the imperialist to sustain lengthy conflict in such circumstances is that it knows that the victory is determined strategically, whatever the result of successive tactical battles. The imperialist knows that the victory of its local tools against the revolution is what it wishes to achieve.

Feudal and bourgeois capitalist ruling classes have been throughout the ages able to mobilize one part of the working class to hit the other part, without the trouble of their own engagement in battle and paying the price of their own blood. They engage in this role unreservedly and rush to the maximum extent of violence so long as the blood of the two parties does not begin to impact their blood. But when the working class realizes this and begins to strike them, they begin to think before engaging in any conflict. The role of u.s. imperialism in the capitalist world today, is to use the batons of its collaborators to securely crush the heads of the revolutionary masses, or to be crushed. This is not important as long as the head of imperialism remains safe, and so long as amerikan interests are kept safe from any threat. But once this interest is endangered, and when we see the side battles taking their real nature, the main enemy

without a legitimate right, facilitated the establishment of the zionist entity at the expense of the people of Palestine, the owners of the land, who were deprived of their rights and expelled from their homeland.

2. The u.s. government played a key role in the mid-forties and beyond in the establishment of the zionist entity, represented by the creation of 'israel.' Both Britain and the united states have collaborated with other Western countries to install 'israel' and have supported it in absolute terms since 1948 until now and will not end this support.

3. The creation of 'israel' and its regional expansion in the years 1948, 1956, and 1967 displaced more than a million and a half Palestinian Arabs. All this was the result of efforts made by the World Zionist Organization in its branches all over the world and through the continued support of the governments of the imperialist countries: the united states, Britain, West Germany, and others.

4. The World Zionist Organization and all its institutions in various areas and all parts of the world, are an extension of the State of 'israel,' which is at the same time a point of intersection between the interests of imperialism on the one hand and 'israeli' interests on the other hand. The Zionist Organization provides human, military, financial, and political aid and new blood for the arteries of the 'israeli' entity in Palestine.

In light of the previous points, our identification of the enemy and review of a summary of facts regarding the role of international zionism and world imperialism, despite the complexity of the common interests of all of these forces, the confluence of these forces and interests come together with the common goal of the existence of 'israel' at the expense of the interests of the

Arab Palestinian people in their homeland. So long as the zionist movement, with the assistance of world imperialism, still declares war against the Arabs of Palestine, in many cases unannounced war in geographic areas all over the world, and through aid in all areas to maintain 'israel' and support its ongoing injustice and violence against the people of Palestine—the Palestinian people have the right to confront this war of aggression with a military strategy which ensures their strength and hits the enemy and its natural extensions wherever they are, to achieve victory.

It is very normal for the fighters of the Palestinian people inside the occupied homeland to focus their strikes on enemy targets and fight the 'israeli' occupiers. And it is normal to move the Palestinian people and their combat units from outside these territories to enter their occupied homeland, confront their enemies and strike them. The Palestinian people are not responsible for their dispersion and presence outside their homeland. And it is very natural for those of the Palestinian people who are in struggle to go to any country where they can confront the extensions of 'israel' outside occupied Palestine, and wage war abroad to respond to the war launched against them by the zionist institutions from their multiple sites abroad. It is natural as well for the Palestinian resistance movement to embody its slogan of fighting imperialism and strike its interests within the Arab world, represented mainly by the petroleum corporations that produce massive financial profits at the expense of the hard-working Arab people to benefit the exploiters who then return a large part of these profits to make napalm to burn children, elders and women of the Palestinian people and the Arab world.

Just as the issue of geography is important in the overall war waged by colonialism and 'israel' and zionism against the people of Palestine and the Arab nation, geography should be an important issue in the global war carried out by the people of Palestine to confront the war of aggression against them. The issue is not limited to the occupied territories or outside.

Why strike the targets of u.s. imperialism, and why return to hit again the sensitive points and nerve centers of the imperialist enemy? This is the question of the hour. We must answer the masses so as to not fall into the trap of those who say that our work leads to unrest, or drags the revolution from its positions against the enemy into sectarian side battles, and to clear the illusions of those who are wrong in the best case, that our goal is to educate the masses and unmask our true enemies. As Mouin Bseiso wrote in *Al-Ahram* (January 4, 1970):

> The united states of amerika is the first enemy of the Palestinian people and the Arab revolution, the first ally of the occupation, the first funder and architect of both schemes of aggression, and this fact is known even to Arab children in nurseries.

No! Our goal is much larger. To understand this objective, it is necessary to know the nature and origin, and have an in-depth awareness of the dialectical relationship that governs our behavior and guides our steps. The basic contradiction that exists in the region is the contradiction between imperialism and revolution, which Mouin Bseiso describes as Palestinian, and which the Popular Front insists is Arab. But imperialism is smart enough that all of their forces confronting the revolution do not stand before us openly, nor attack us directly, but are used in the struggle against us, fighting through "a third party."

It does not matter who is the third party. It is important for them to implement their plan carefully; they seek to pay a lesser price than they know they must pay in reputation and in blood if they clashed with the revolution openly along the lines of the Vietnamese or Korean conflicts.

However, the presence of a third party does not negate the basic contradiction, but it creates contradictions as a subset, essentially a manifestation of the exercise of the primary contradiction. It

striking the recently constructed oil pipeline between Eilat and Asqelan? What about Aramco and others?

It is certain to hit an oil pipeline which, according to *Al-Hurriya*, belongs to the so-called "individual imperialism" (!). It does not eliminate the presence of imperialism, but it is part of a battle against those interests (and the total relations that underpin those interests) and has a provocative and tactical role. Military and political struggle are integral parts of the methods of revolutionary struggle as all Marxists undoubtedly know, to the extent that workers sabotage the machinery of the factory in which they work (unless to sabotage such machines is to maintain the relationships these machines depend upon!).

We agree with Ahmed Bahaa Eddin that "the subject of the Palestinian action abroad should not be left to individual or semi-individual initiatives, or a lack of coordination," and we agree with him as well that "revolutionary violence is not an abstract expression, it is not angry violence, but violence that serves the revolution and its goals." We also agree with *Al-Hurriya* that "individual terrorism is a dead end for a mass movement"; so too is narrow-mindedness and opportunism!

Imperialism and External Operations

Since the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine began striking the interests and targets of imperialism on May 29, 1970, the bourgeois Arab press has engaged in continuous analysis of these strikes, criticizing them, and stirring up skepticism around them. This is normal due to the sequence of events, and the interdependence of the diseases afflicting us. In the following, we shed some light on the causes and aspects of these strikes and their expected results:

Suez or Port Said are not areas "inside the occupied territories," neither are Maysalun or Damascus "inside the occupied territories," and also Beirut airport or Rashayya or Aytaroun villages in Lebanon are not "areas within the occupied territories."

There is no doubt, and thus it cannot be avoided or ignored, that these operations generated mixed reactions and sparked lengthy and intense debate that one can still sense and hear, and follow its give and take.

As well as those who announced their full and absolute support for these operations and demanded more of them, and those who stated their conservative support, there were those who understood first the motives of these operations but rejected some of the results secondarily. There is a difference between those who understand the motives and reject the method and those who do not understand and do not wish to understand the motives, and therefore reject these operations, demand to stop them, and even punish the guerrillas that carry them out.

In fact, this disparity in reactions is a normal variation and therefore expected. If there are no such responses, it would be strange, not normal, and unexpected.

In any case, where is the international consensus wholly in favor of or in opposition to any important or marginally important issue that occurs on the world stage?

And more than that, where is the international consensus wholly in favor of or in opposition to the entire method of armed struggle that was adopted by the people of Palestine or any other oppressed people? And where is the international consensus in favor or in opposition to Palestinian fedayeen operations inside the occupied lands?

As for what is being said, that such strikes would lead to an 'israeli' reaction, and will lead to blows directed against Arab aircraft, Arab travel offices, or Arab embassies, this requires discussion. Is there any Arab aircraft, travel desk or embassy that is more important than the people of Port Said or Maysalun or Salt or Aytaroun hit with bombs and napalm?

And what travel agency or embassy is more important than the 'israeli' shelling and bombing of civilian and economic infrastructure in the United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Jordan, or Syria?

And as for what is said about these strikes, that they hurt the reputation of the Palestinian revolution and antagonize european or amerikan public opinion, this has no value. Why this concern for the opinion of the Western world, which for years and years turned a deaf ear to the international resolutions that have been taken to uphold Arab rights in Palestine? Since when has the Western world looked to the Palestinian revolution with respect and admiration?

The blows, like these strikes of the Popular Front, are revolutionary methods that have succeeded in removing the wax from the Western ears that did not hear in the past and wiping the dirt from the european eyes that were unable to see the truth in the past.

This is the only explanation behind the emergence of articles such as those of British global historian Arnold Toynbee, or committees spontaneously and voluntarily formed to support the Popular Front and the cause of the Arabs in Palestine, as has happened in Italy, Switzerland, Sweden and Pakistan, letters and telegrams of support received from north amerika and Latin Amerika and elsewhere. That part of world public opinion which was covered by the imperialist and zionist propaganda cloak of ignorance for a long period, has begun to ask questions of this type:

Why die young like Abdul Mohsen Hassan Ali in the snow of Zurich

To look at how *Al-Hurriya* resolved this issue:

> "The mission of guerrilla action in the struggle against 'israel' is to be associated with, theoretically and politically, a fighting revolutionary mass struggle in every Arab country [...] and this alone will effectively impact the interests of imperialism."

But *Al-Hurriya*, despite all this, did not tell us how!

The desire to theorize here goes beyond feeling the need to determine the position that "linking theoretical and political struggle with the mass revolutionary struggle in every Arab country" is a necessary and crucial principle that must not be underestimated. But is this somehow inconsistent with striking the interests of imperialism? If this "mass revolutionary movement in every Arab country" targets and strikes imperialist interests directly, will it be defeated, because "violence against the individual interests of imperialism" only targets "individual material interests"? Is it forbidden for Palestinian actions to strike the interests of imperialism? Does not imperialism through its interests in the Arab homeland serve as the spearhead of the enemy camp?

Then what is the meaning of the statement, "The battlefield is not the individual material interests of imperialism"? The phrase "individual interests of imperialism" cannot be part of the vocabulary of a Marxist, as what is imperialism that is individual or not individual? Relationships? This is not abstract theory, imperialism is embodied in its interests!

Let us go back to the Vietnamese example: should the revolutionaries in their struggle not strike imperialist interests? What do you see them doing now? Why are they attacking the oil depots of the corporations of Saigon? Is it not part of resisting the amerikan war effort? So what about Shell, owned by Rothschild (the individual) and the amerikan monopolies controlled by their members, and

which indicates how superficial this understanding is, not only in the meaning of the word "individual" but also in the meaning of armed struggle!

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which practiced and will continue to engage in external action as an integral part of its strategy to pursue the enemy in the largest possible number of areas, organizes the masses, depends on revolutionary ideology and relations, and conducts its revolutionary action by the strategy of protracted people's war. The activity of the Front emerged and gained strength and breadth to avail itself of the capacities of its growth, amid the masses, and through awareness and organization; this theory and practice of struggle and its relations with the people is far from "leaving the masses prey to spontaneity." The first principle required objectively is to recognize this, and not to cover up these facts with misleading and manipulative statements based on false purposes, irrelevant quotations, and fraudulent labeling, and above all, generalizing from selective opportunist arguments rooted in creating justifications.

Targeting Imperial Interests

Al-Hurriya moves from "criticism" of external operations (which, as we have seen, is to label the Front's revolutionary work as individual terrorism) to criticizing the principle of striking imperial interests. It uses a complex and fake theoretical definition, "imperialist interests are the sum of economic and political relations, based on these interests in the Arab world."

What does this mean under close review? Does it mean that hitting the interests of imperialism (which is the relation underlying the interests of imperialism!) is, as *Al-Hurriya* says, "falsification of the meaning of the battle against the interests of imperialism"?

Airport? Why does a young woman like Amina Dahbour expose herself to death or detention in the prisons of Switzerland? Why do Maher Yamani and Mahmoud Issa expose themselves to death or imprisonment in detention in Greece? Why do Leila Khaled and Salim Issawi risk their lives in a daring operation to seize the amerikan Trans World Airways plane? And last but not least, why would a youth like Khaled or Talaat or Wael or Adel face death or imprisonment in more than one european city?

Things are usually measured in their results. The blow of one of these strikes is more far-reaching than any media offices or cultural or journalistic attaches, who spend money and efforts that could be utilized in the service of the Palestinian revolution, could be, and in fact, escalated the level of media coverage even more.

The argument that such strikes have led or will lead to antagonizing amerika or Germany or Britain or others is a mockery. It is a position that erases with simple naivete the entire history of the suffering of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation at the hands of these states. This is an "argument" that is similar to a husband crying and reading poetry over his wife's grave when she is still alive and has not yet been buried!

The discussion about the relationship between a people and their oppressors, the imperialists, has buried the dreams of the people for some time, and they are now on the path of revolution and freedom.

The question we must ask is: What have these colonial states not offered to 'israel'? What is the evidence that some people need to prove the hostility to our issues of these colonial powers who colonized us?

The argument that the Palestinian experience is unique in charting for itself this path of resistance in striking the hands of the enemy

outside his area is not true, and even if it were, presumably, it is consistent with the logic and nature of the zionist enemy fused with imperialism and responding to those. However, the nature of armed resistance and liberation revolutions is full of this type of activity, borne out through long experience.

The Algerian revolution struck more than once within Paris itself, but to say that the world did not hear about the Revolution operating outside its soil, as has been said, is misleading; the world also did not hear about the state founded out of the ground through colonizing and expelling its people and replacing them with invaders.

If 'israel' is the physical embodiment of zionism, why not hit the zionist institutions which are another type of extension of 'israel'? Every question about the feasibility of external operations fails when it becomes the case that 'israeli' institutions around the world may be struck at any moment, when each zionist institution is in daily danger, and when the interests of imperialism and its institutions are vulnerable to constant punishment.

There was a war taken up first by 'israel,' zionism, world imperialism and reaction, and second and in response by the people of Palestine, the Arab nation, and the progressives of the world. Just as the aggression against the people of Palestine does not stem from a specific geographic location but comes from multiple global sites, the confrontation carried out by the Palestinian people does not need to be limited to a specific geographic area. These are the parties to the conflict and that is the logic of the revolutionary confrontation.

External Operations: Discussions

In the wake of the accident in the Swiss plane in the air in February 1970, a new discussion broke out around the different aspects of external operations, and of course, in these discussions, some sought

Let us provide a small example of the Vietnamese revolution to *Al-Hurriya*, which presents a revolutionary act as inherently a terrorist action (!). It in fact has a tendency to praise individual heroism and looks with great admiration to the Fedayeen. One of the more famous publications of the Vietnamese National Liberation Movement is a postcard depicting the individual, Nguyen Van Lem at the moment of his execution. Is this support for a tendency of individualism? Or do we instead see a model for revolutionary struggle?

External Operations and Revolutionary Activity

In addition to these fraudulent definitions, *Al-Hurriya* attempts to suggest that "external operations" (according to the concept that it insists on falsely defining) constitute the total activity and strategic framework carried out by organizations that adopt it as a principle.

This is an audacious attempt to mislead, as the external operations of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine constitute about three percent of its total armed operations, which are part of a planned strategy. The revolutionary struggle waged daily by the Popular Front throughout Gaza, for example, and the enthusiastic battles and confrontations inside occupied Palestine, are far from any reference to "individual terrorist" activity, and when *Al-Hurriya* says: "The individual violence [which is used falsely to mean external action] does not support public participation, which is the basis for popular war," they are attempting to suggest that their false concept of external action is the only action being taken.

If the word "individual" means a numerical issue only, any small commando patrol is now described as such, numerically! This "mathematical interpretation" of revolution and revolutionary action is contrary to the most basic rules of revolutionary logic,

shoes"![2] Otherwise, what is the meaning of this statement: "The example of Vietnam is very clear, the Vietnamese revolutionary movement has been able to pursue u.s. interests outside the borders of Vietnam but it rejected this approach from the beginning." Because the Vietnamese people were not expelled "outside" the borders of their country, because the entity that is in Saigon and its population did not come from "outside," and because u.s. imperialism is not the zionist movement; however, it is strange that *Al-Hurriya* does not label the actions of Vietnamese revolutionaries in Laos against the u.s. enemy to be "external pursuit."

Bertrand Russell one day declared that he would not see any fault in their revolutionary conduct if the Vietnamese revolutionaries exploded houses in San Francisco, and Arnold Toynbee went so far as to justify the killing of members of a third party in external operations. In terms of outlook, apart from the philosophical perspective of Russell and the historical perspective of Toynbee; the Algerian revolutionaries launched a large number of attacks in Paris itself.

If it is necessary to imitate the Vietnamese revolution, the first lesson then is an actual, realistic study to embrace the principle of adaptation to the objective conditions of the battle, the nature of the enemy and its weapons. If 'israel' was actually limited in its geographical scope this is an issue worth exploring, but if it is agreed that the 'israeli' entity is part of the scope of the zionist movement and its extensions, then we must rise to confront the challenge and precision to hit a military target with strategic and moral principles, aside from the question of the location where this occurs.

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2 **Ed. Note:** This quote is taken from 'Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War' and refers to those erroneously arguing that the CPC military forces should forego guerrilla tactics and merely copy the "military manuals published by the reactionary Chinese government" (Zedong, Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Beijing: Foreign Language Press).

to "condemn" the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and its strategy rather than to objectively assess this important aspect of armed Palestinian resistance activity.

In one week, we have seen two articles on this subject, the first in *Al-Musawar* of Cairo, and the second in *Al-Hurriya* of Beirut.

Note that the facts must be confirmed before proceeding to examine the totality of the views put forward by the enemies of a strategy to pursue the enemy everywhere:

- During 1969, external operations accounted for only about 3% of the total armed operations of the PFLP. This fact is very important because it disproves the simplistic and opportunistic claims that the Popular Front is fighting the enemy only "outside of Palestine and the occupied Arab lands." Such statements are false, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine hits the enemy at home and outside, but it hits the enemy inside one hundred times more than those who are most extreme in their criticism of the Popular Front. It is fair to note that while the Democratic Front was responsible for less than 2% of total operations inside occupied Palestine, on the Jordan Valley line or the 1948 armistice line in Southern Lebanon, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is the Palestinian organization with the highest percentage of military operations deep inside occupied Palestine ('Tel Aviv,' Haifa, Tantura, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Al-Khalil, etc.) and is leading, almost alone, the revolutionary struggle in the heated Gaza Strip.

- This fact must be taken into account when talking about the external special operations of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine because the opportunists seek to overturn reality. Before entering into a discussion of these views, there is an urgent need to determine principled

positions:

- First, the burning of the homeless elderly jewish man in Munich, which was used by some as a "gateway" to discuss the external operations. It is true that most articles written in the Arab press do not go to the extent of blaming this event on "terrorists," but they make use of the negative publicity surrounding this incident to promote defeatist attitudes. The only proof that remains about the burning of this homeless elderly jewish man is (per *Der Spiegel*, September 1970) the "Aral" gasoline cans; the cans of this type had been stolen a week before the fire from the amerikan barracks in Munich. This alone is enough to point the finger at non-Palestinians and non-Arabs because these would be interested in blowing up the base itself, not stealing gasoline cans from it!

- Second, the explosion and plane crash in the Swissair flight is still surrounded by mystery, and despite the fact that all Palestinian organizations have declared that they are not responsible for this, unfortunately, some "Arabs" have fallen into this conspiracy theory.

- Third, the explosion of grenades at Munich airport. The primary responsibility for this is borne by the 'israeli' pilot who attacked a guerrilla as he was carrying a grenade with the trigger open, which led to the explosion in the passenger car that was heading to the airplane. The Fedayeen's goal was to access and hijack the plane. The order of the events in question must always be told in the account when it is examined.

- Fourth, apart from all these details, the principle of the acceptance of the strategy of guerrilla action abroad is like any other principle, not subject to generalization.

discipline," and condemned "spontaneous" operations as opposed to "planned revolutionary violence," and when he discussed "individual terrorism" he was condemning the principle of political assassination of individuals as a substitute or a solution for fighting the class or colonial enemy.

It is clear that this is one thing, and that external operations are something else entirely!

The Example and Lessons of Vietnam

A large part of the *Al-Hurriya* essay is a lengthy sermon on the principles adopted by the Vietnamese revolutionaries in their struggle; it uses this to produce a false and "naïve equation": Whatever the Vietnamese revolutionaries did not do is presumed to be wrong—and this precisely is "terrorism" in the ideological sense!

This equation also assumes that what the Vietnamese revolutionaries are doing is law for all, and thus on this basis, that what is required of the Palestinian revolution is to use bamboo as has been widely done by the Vietnamese revolutionaries! This example is not as naïve as it seems at first glance, because if we adopted the logic of *Al-Hurriya* we would have to commit ourselves to many such things, but we would have to give up a lot of things (such as shelling 'israeli' forces with mortars from northern Jordan valley in Jordan!).

And then, *Al-Hurriya*, while citing similarities to the Vietnamese, ignores, for example, that Che Guevara warmly defended the "individuals" who hijacked amerikan planes from the heart of the united states to Cuba, and he did so on the platform of the United Nations.

Al-Hurriya is doing exactly what Mao Zedong warned of when he condemned those traitors who were "cutting their feet to fit the

belief that the liquidation of an individual will defeat what he represents as a class. In this sense, the term "individual" signifies a lack of strategy, rather than a collective decision as part of the battle. If an individual carries out orders that were organized collectively on strategic principles and include hitting the enemy's targets as part of overall objectives, this is not "individual" action. If this were the case, the historic revolutions would be reduced in their achievements by half. If this is true, we would have also considered that the seven Vietnamese revolutionaries who attacked the u.s. Embassy in Saigon were carrying out "individual acts," and also that "individual" that the DFLP claimed was killed inside the Nablus prison by another "individual" when he was placed in the prison to spy on behalf of the enemy!

- Now, if we connect the word "terrorism" to the word "individual," in the scientific sense, is it the same as "external operations"? We agree completely with the obvious logic of *Al-Hurriya* condemning "individual terrorism" with great ceremony, denouncing its lack of usefulness, but what is clear is that *Al-Hurriya* has no scientific, objective, or intellectual basis to describe external operations as "individual terrorism.

Misleading Citations of Lenin

Even more serious is that after *Al-Hurriya* used the wrong meaning of the word terrorism, and the wrong meaning of the word individual, and their wrong meaning together, it devoted an editorial to condemning "individual terrorism," and meaning "external action," then used excerpts from Lenin to condemn "individual terrorism," with the full knowledge that Lenin intended this in the scientific sense and not this fraudulent sense.

Lenin condemned "individual" actions as opposed to "organizational

The word "External Operation" is not a magic word that can subsume any action that takes place "outside" geographically. It is clear that an external operation can be excellent and that another operation could be problematic. The factors include the type of operation, the timing and location, efficient planning and operation, the cause that they serve, and the impact of legal factors, media, agitation, and logistics, and the last of these issues do not only have intrinsic importance in external operations but in fact in any military operation.

If it is wrong to justify and glorify "all" external operations, the parallel naïve error is a denunciation of "all" external operations (as some quarters have done irresponsibly). There is nothing absolutely right in all cases and nothing absolutely wrong.

The Point of View of *Al-Musawar*

After this introduction, we will examine two commentaries of the many which appeared in the last week. The first was written by Ahmed Bahaa Eddin in *Al-Musawar* (February 27) and the second appeared in *Al-Hurriya* (March 2).

Mr. Ahmed Bahaa Eddin correctly notes that the operations abroad "began in a calculated manner," but he errs when he says that the difficulties that have arisen have "made these operations take a different turn." It was assumed from the beginning that the first operations would lead to difficulties, these difficulties were not supposed to be met spontaneously. And what Mr. Bahaa Eddin calls "taking a different turn" was actually a "plan B."

Mr. Bahaa Eddin is perhaps correct to criticize improvisation or spontaneity in external operations, and perhaps this improvisation which has emerged recently is worth researching, tracking, and

understanding, but this issue is different from that of external operations in the first place.

Perhaps Mr. Bahaa Eddin's belief that the "relative ease of some foreign operations will be a constant temptation for small organizations" has made him fearful, and thus he combines errors resulting from improvisation with the "easy" principle itself.

What is certain is that the external operations are not easy nor relatively easy. In fact, they are more difficult and complex—they take effort and time from other operations. If a party thinks it is "easy" and mistakenly believes this, it is not a condemnation of the principle. Some parties believe that moving a commando group inside the occupied territories is an easy action; how many costly losses have resulted from such errors—but this is a difference between a principle and a conviction of some alternate belief.

Mr. Bahaa Eddin suggests a correct proposal when he ends by saying that the key questions are: "What is the Palestinian action abroad? What is permissible and where? What are the new ideas that can be innovative?" These questions are important and for the Popular Front, at least, were raised before the adoption of this principle. The principle is based on the strategic value of external operations to serve its goals, and it has explained this strategy on multiple occasions and sometimes, in the actual location of the fedayeen operation itself.

Al-Hurriya: Wrong Presentation

If Mr. Bahaa Eddin perhaps addressed this issue somewhat objectively and put forward his point of view in constructive terms aimed at advancing the feasibility and reducing most of the errors of these operations, *Al-Hurriya* magazine has done the opposite and uses descriptions and conventions that either indicate either ignorance of their meanings or conscious disregard for the reader.

In the past, *Al-Hurriya* has intentionally misrepresented an excerpt from the writings of Lenin and sought to hide behind it, taking from his positions regarding certain events that were entirely different from the subject of external operations, and using this to describe the alleged Marxist stance on the issue of external action.

The method *Al-Hurriya* uses to do this is the same as its usual "analysis": it puts forward a wrong assumption and goes on to prove, by quoting from books, that which supports the position of the assumption. It was decided that external operations are "individual terror operations," then Lenin is quoted to condemn "individual terrorism." Between assumption and quotation, they compose a repetitive theoretical lecture, fundamentally empty, about "mass work"!

The argument of *Al-Hurriya* circumvents the meanings of these terms. At best it calls things other than by their correct names, as in the relationship between "external operations" and "individual terrorism":

- "Terrorism" is the word used to describe repressive actions in the interest of the exploitative or occupying power. The difference between "terrorism" and "revolutionary action" is the same as the difference between the violence that enslaves and the violence that liberates, violence that serves a just cause and violence that prevents the victory of a just cause, and it is a shameful thing and a narrow-minded logic, to the extent that leads a "revolutionary" to call revolutionary violence "terrorism"!

- "Individual," scientifically, means the individual action aimed at the interests of an individual, or a group of individuals taking action against an individual as a person, with the